/102 cont./

243 justified. In case of a blockade, barley and maize always ensure
a minimum difficult to appraise, but consistent. The great
243 families of the past, insofar as one remembers them, tended to
173 a certain autarchy. The others produced in cereals a proportion
433 going, according to the affluence of the land, from a quarter to
a third of the needs. Such is still the actual state: one can form an
243 idea of it from the volume of family purchases at the souqs of the
43 Dir or, still more instructively, from those of the col at Timez-
221 gadiwin or Argana. The first trimester following a normal harvest
is not in deficit. From the middle of the agricultural year, all,
except the great ones, depend upon the outside. Market gar-
244 dening, it is true, adds a substantial contribution. Especially the
245 turnip; accessorily the carrot, the gourd. And even more the
433 fruits: walnuts, almonds, olives, simultaneously or separately,
[146] depending on the altitude. The value in calories produced per
unit of surface of these last cultivations greatly exceeds that of the
cereals. The equivalences which one could thus establish would
expand notably the agricultural space of populations whose pictur-
esque escarpments, viewed from a little too far, seem to reduce
to a permanent scarcity. There would indeed be some ideas to
revise on that.

166 Finally, it is necessary to take account of the emigration,
167 which removes, as one knows, a noticeable proportion of con-
sumers, at the same time that it transforms them into im-
porters of "devises" /currency/, and this latter term is surely not
out of place, for these relations stand out in international ex-
change. As old as they appear, they depend on the political con-
619 juncture and are subject /103/ to variation. A comparison that
648 comes to mind and which is prompted by the very appearance of
the country, with its cliff hanging over the plain, is fishing.
Everything happens as if the relations with the plain were those of
a coast people, be it with the littoral waters, and there we have
the Dir relations properly speaking -- be it with faraway seas: the
emigration. Coastal fishing and high-seas fishing, on the one
hand, international relations around the border markets and in-
termediate places such as Imintanout on the other hand:

/166 cont./

245 the humidity that it collects. Almost constantly, a "basin,"
[312] tanut, plur. tuna, is arranged at the foot of the olive trees: a concave angle, outlined by a little flow-trench, takes up the descent of the impluvium, where the séguia water is not led by gravity in turns.

But no choice of the varieties of almond trees: those that scale the middle slopes, and testify moreover to a /167/ meritorious hardiness, do not result from any selection. They are
[433] bastards made up of dozens of origins. Their yield is normally tiny, even though occasionally the surprise of an abundant fruc-
[426] tification bursts forth. The risk is enormous. It enters into the calculations of the moneylenders. Sale while green, called bay^{c} u-ssalam, at usurious rates, formerly drained the almond near Mogador at the same time that it supplied the rich man of the mountain with liquid money. Around the olive trees, the "suckers," ayyawn (plur. of ayyaw), are carefully safeguarded. They pass for a sign of vitality, just as an excess of foliage does: they are compared to the beard of a man. Native aesthetics opts, not for the single and thick trunk, but for the thicket of shoots
[242] which finally develops at each base. Of course, neither grafting nor pruning. The "oleander," tazemmurt, is left to its decorative role, and, for us, a Mediterranean reminder, for the oleolentiscetum of the botanists has almost completely disappeared; it exists only in rare patches in the region of Imintanout. Diseases and parasites ravage every planting. For everything, this rural society -- quite significant poverty -- has only one word, the bu-zegg^{w}agh, that is, "the red," and, of course, cannot help it. The harvesting is a brutal beating, which abolishes hopes for the following year. Whence a productivity generally biennial. As for the walnut trees, the stripping of the roots in the search for the sswak (cf. name of the walnut tree, tsswikt) and even premature felling ravage the plantations. The resources of the orchard are reduced to these three species. The rarity of the fig tree in particular is noticeable. And despite the altitude, no apple trees or cherry trees. Here and there, in the high mountains, some
[251] peach or apricot trees. They give rise to a fairly expert canning industry, notably at Ikis.

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/ footnote 2 continued/ E. de Martonne, Traité de géographie physique /Treatise on physical geography/, t. III, 5th ed., 1932, Biogeography, pp. 1245 sq., and especially M. Cépède, Du prix de revient au produit net en agriculture /From the cost price to the net product in agriculture/, 1946, pp. 347 sq. "How to judge a system of cultivation?" The equation proposed evidently does not take into account the values attached subjectively by the milieu to such and such production. The phytosociological notion of climax thus has some vigorous moral components.

One will be reduced to comparing them with the data established by the observation of a single sector; their hierarchy in the native system itself will offer the least uncertain criteria. In the Maghrebi studies an abstraction of the interpretations and /173/ elaborations of the Maghrebi man has too often been made. It will have been a constant theme of our research to restore them
233 to their true place. And here they offer us a precious value judgment: their preference for livestock breeding.

These ancient sedentary ones, these patient villagers are above all shepherds (1).

[171]

1. In another montagnard milieu, although completely different, the French Alps, livestock has been "the very principle of Alpine life" (Arbos, cited by R. Blanchard, Les Alpes françaises, 1925, p. 50). Pastoral alternations have formed the oldest basis of the habitat (ibid., p. 90). Cf. in this sense J. Blache, L'homme et la montagne /Man and the mountain/, 1933, pp. 13 sq.

[433] The flock clothes, nourishes, heats the house, and, with its manure, remakes the soils. It occupies the major position in all this

/173 cont./

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433 economy. Bearing in mind the hazards of fruit arboriculture and the mediocrity that blemishes the cereal yields, it is considered the major source of subsistence. Central in relation to the other elements of production, it is the one that, in its alternations of mountain pastures on the heights, stabling in the village, and distant transhumance, brings about the junction between the city of man and the space that surrounds it. In sum, it forms the unity of the countryside. Its synthesis value is felt, and one must not be surprised by the primacy of interest that tradition confers on it. Its excesses -- overtaxing the pastures and, finally, destruction of the land -- are never envisaged. Or rather, by the infinite agility of its effective forces, it appears as the most appropriate procedure for sponging the last resources from the soil. Even the devastations of hunger, cold, and sickness are considered as bringing about an automatic regulating. In other words, this society exploits to the last consequences what might be called an ecology of the domestic animal. In livestock breeding it finds [182] a middle term between its tendency to the demographic maximum and the resistance of the milieu (2).

2. Cf. A. Sauvy, Théorie générale de la population /General theory of the population/, 1952, vol. I, chap. I, pp. 9 sq.; cf. also, on a more directly agricultural plane, the interesting reflections of M. Cépède, Du prix ..., pp. 246 sq., chap. on "L'homme et la nature /Man and nature/." According to him, the pastoral economy is "victime du concept d'infinité" /victim of the concept of infinity/, p. 258, that is, of the belief in an infinitely extensive resource for the movements of the flock. To the limit, "surpécoration" /pecora, plural of the Latin pecus, "cattle," figuratively means "stupid persons," hence the expression here can be taken as "excessive livestock" and "excessive stupidity"/, id., op. cit., p. 258.

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these rival claims by conferring on this vast landed-estate a collective status which divides it between the two tribes.

According to certain traditions recorded in a. Lh'sen, this collective should return entirely to the Seksawa, and its assignment at all to the a. Abdella would arise from one of these errors based on the perspective of contiguity, and such as we have often committed in North Africa, in Algeria for example, in the application procedures of the Sénatus Consulte of 1863.

The question was important, because if we had again found in the Inzzlyma traces of a property-owner's vocation for the ensemble of the Seksawa "fractions," our hypothesis on the former landed projection of the tribe toward the plain would have been singularly reinforced by it. It was a matter, in sum, of a study of archeological indications launched a little blindly. Here
243 are the results of this study. The following table groups the areas,
619 in measures of seeds, ᶜabra-s, of the different population groups
433 cultivating the Inzzlyma. There will result from it conclusions
184 for the moment negative. No regularity of distribution: a coun-
648 try worn, devastated by history. But a plurality of usufructuary groups: perhaps a remote reminder...

a) Part for the a. Imintanut (Nfifa)

	Nfifa of Imintanout	Other Nfifa	Demsira	Seksawa	People of the Sous	Ud Bessebaᶜ	Chichaoua	Mtugga	Mez'ud'a	Dwiran	People of Argana	People of Amizmiz	
Barley.....	4,047	6	112	153	236	235	3	25	12	0	26	17	4,872
Hard wheat	592	1	33	17	27	6	0	4	0	0	5	4	689
Soft wheat	163	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	1	171
Totals..	4,802	7	145	170	266	241	3	29	12	0	35	22	5,732

/217 cont./

b) Part for the a. Abdella (Seksawa)

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	a. Abdella	a. Lah' sen	a. H'adduyws.	Idma	Sous	Nfifa	
Barley....	3,064	19	6	83	29	15	3,216
Hard wheat	276	0	1	13	0	0	290
Soft wheat.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals...	3,340	19	7	96	29	15	3,506

N. B. The evaluations are made in cabra-s of seed, that is, for barley, approximately a quarter of a hectare each.

/218/ V. Consistency, Limits, and Import of an Agrarian Order

A Research Hypothesis

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R. Montagne relates (1)

1. R. Montagne, "Les leff-s berbères au début du XVIII^e siècle chez les Masmouda /The Berber leffs at the beginning of the eighteenth century among the Masmouda/," Hesp., 1941, p. 93.

how, after many gropings, one day he conceived, in the Aghbar or the Ogdemt, the explanatory hypothesis for the leff-s. With A. Basset, he traversed these cantons for long days in search of clues on their political history. Facts accumulated, which no link seemed to connect together in the native consciousness: too inveterate, too "normal" for it to perceive laws or linkings there. And here is what flashes out among all these facts, an order that arranges them, justifies them. The past of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/: propagation of chefferies /military districts/, tension between and within groups, conservative discord, anarchies balancing

/46 cont./

565 /Moroccan ghettos/ -- Goulimin, Illigh, Taroudant, Amismiz,
563 Imi n Tanout -- with close relations with the large Jewish center that prospers in Mogador by monopolizing the commerce of the South. But the many traditions collected among the Haha, in
[797] the central and western Anti-Atlas, as well as the Haut-Dra among the Skourra and the Glawa, prove the ancient existence of many families of Jewish origin, converted to Islam for several centuries. At the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/, one
[175] still saw several Israelite communities in the Sous taking part in the tribal wars in order to defend their lands and keep their religion (1).

[113] 1. Léon l'Africain, Description de l'Afrique /Description of Africa/, Scheffer edit., Vol. I, pp. 163-164.

565 One might think that they were the ones who remained of the old
563 Judaized Berbère /Berber/ tribes of the Far South, whom the con-
797 quest of the Igezzoulen must have forced to accept Islam. In the Anti-Atlas still in our day it is not rare to find families converted for less than a century, just as one is shown the locality of ancient villages and ruined agadirs /collective storehouses, sometimes serving as fortresses/ whose Jewish population was conquered, Islamized by force, and dispersed by the Mussulmans of the vicinity.

• 433 X. The economic life. -- We have stated the difficult con-
241 ditions under which human life develops in the Sous. Now, as in the Anti-Atlas, the rains are too infrequent to fertilize the great expanses of the plateaus on which the Berbère /Berber/ plow can pass; again, as in the Deren, where water is more abundant, it is the earth that is lacking on the rocky flank of the mountains or in the narrow gorges of the torrents; elsewhere, on the plains, the springs and the séguias scarcely suffice to bring into being the small oases of the foot of the Dir or the thin string of gardens of the bottom of the large valleys.

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43 Nevertheless, formerly, in the isolation of this region, a
182 balanced regime had been established here; at the cost of some
[166] privations, a population that remained retired within itself suc-
[731] ceeded in providing for itself, especially in the mountains; it did not have to call on the outside to increase its resources -- in the form of temporary emigration of the able-bodied men -- except at times of famine. Moreover, the profits which the Chleuhs /Shluh/ know how to make from the trade that they carry on in the towns even used to give certain tribes -- /47/ the Aït ʿAïsi and the Aït Mzal, for example -- actual prosperity.

• 433 But this fragile economy was to be upset by the opening of
439 Morocco to European markets in the nineteenth century. So poor
182 a country was indeed tempted to improve its difficult conditions
177 of existence by importing foodstuffs, clothing, and manufactured
[631] objects; but at the same time its purchases were contributing toward exhausting it. Moreover, since the establishment of the power of the great chiefs and kaids over the independent communities had the consequence of imposing heavy burdens on the tribes, the economic ruin of the Sous was to be brought about in two generations of people.

433 In truth, the various parts of the country found themselves
184 unequally affected by this transformation, according to their
182 initial state of poverty, the way of life of their inhabitants, and
177 their degree of penetration by the modern economy.

511 In the mountainous regions, at least where the political evo-
556 lution has not noticeably altered the primitive conditions of the people, there are neither true poor nor true rich. Each Berbère
[184] /Berber/ possesses a small flock of sheep and goats, and in the
[422] bottom of the valley some cultivated terraces, big walnut trees
[423] irrigated by the séguias, and almond trees on the flank of the mountain. Barley, rye, maize, turnips, long garlands of which dry hung along the houses, suffice for daily subsistence. Goats or sheep are sacrificed only on festival days or when a guest
511 comes by. Clothing does not require any great expense. That of
556 the women is made of a very long piece of brown wool with
291 which the body is adroitly draped and which is held above the